/886 cont./
X 881 one that the adults aim to achieve in the čiéxaus hut with the
867 uźwéala are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /887/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

X 881 Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from
867 the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The
156 following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for
554 word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

X 881 Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the con-
867 siderable and evident punishment that, according to the belief
626 of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person.
● 761 Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

/887 cont./
children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for subjective reasons. Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents; actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntary services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely pleasant that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kinsfolk and neighbors.

/1042 cont./

124 776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Watauinéiwa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Watauinéiwa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Watauinéiwa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Watauinéiwa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ĕkĕtémakalo-watauinéiwa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Watauinéiwa. Actually they only offered us the [773] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ĕkĕtémaka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation watauinéiwa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

/1046 cont./

776 Manunā́kin is popular, as is Manauanā́kin, in the sense of "the sole mighty one." BD:285 gives these words in the combination manūnāki hauan, "this is valued" /cited in English/; it has the same root as auwēn, according to BD:65 auwōn, "true, sincere, in earnest, in truth" /cited in English/, and auwōnā́ki, "the good one" /cited in English/.

Only once was Tumū́učikánaku used, "he who makes others angry and infuriates them." These words are also used by the Yamana in ordinary speech. Compare in BD:519 the expression tūmūučikāna, "cause, permit any person to učikana (BD:112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties, etc." /cited in English/.

• [761] On the occasion of a death and at a public funeral, Wḗlapatux-sēf, "the murderer up in heaven," is often used and always with strong emotion. BD:619 clearly states "wōlāpatux, cruel, murderous; acting in a manner braving danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable" /cited in English/.

/1047/ Finally one also finds in BD:629 "wāgunā́ki, the upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God as 'the Highest'" /cited in English/. I did not come across this word and Bridges does not give an explanation for it anywhere. A definite contradiction should be pointed out, however. In his dictionary he lists an expression for "God" and yet for decades he denied that the Yamana had any kind of religious conception.

The above terms for the Supreme Being are variously used, depending on the given situation, but never thoughtlessly and always with conscious reference to this deity. The expressions always show more or less veneration for the deity, except for the names which the poor human being angrily uses to relieve his soul concerning his own impotence in relation to him.

195 776 Often, though not to the same extent as the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 497), our Indians use circumlocutions in place of the designations just listed. On the basis of the position occupied by Watauinḗiwa in visible creation, according to their belief, they more or less consciously connect striking events and important happenings with him as the true creator and ultimate cause. They say briefly: "This comes from above!" and use the particle kūp

/1048 cont./

776 of us will when his kĕšpíx leaves his body." There are no pictorial or material representations of his person.

His abode is always far away from the earth and, in the invariable phrase, "high up there" in space. "From this great distance and because of the air space intervening no Yamana can see him. No one knows what he looks like, for he is kĕšpíx!" That is all they say about how and where he lives "up there," nor do they picture details in their own imaginations.

776 Nevertheless, Wataųinéiwa is close to every human being through a sort of omnipresence attributed to him. This character-
626 istic is expressed more tangibly when he is described as omniscient, so to speak. "He sees everything. -- He knows what everyone is doing. -- He also observes how a person behaves in secret [unobserved by his countrymen]!" I often heard this and similar expressions. In the čiéxaus Chris told me: "He looks down from up there and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being" (p. 766). When this same Chris was an ušwáala in the čiéxaus, his sponsor reminded him: "Heed all this advice faithfully. Wataųinéiwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly" (p. 736). Every candidate is emphatically warned: "Watch out for Wataųinéiwa, never forget him!" The awareness that they are always being watched by him is not without effect on the personal conduct of our Indians.

In the last analysis, this conduct is likewise determined by him through the prevailing customs and traditional habits, in short, through the whole body of moral law, the authorship of which is attributed to him. The Fuegians say very simply and plainly: "Wataųinéiwa wants everyone to behave as has always been customary among us Yamana!" They link with this the conviction that in the beginning these laws were drawn up by him to serve as guides for subsequent generations. With his omniscience
776 he sees to it that they are rigorously observed and he avenges
626 serious transgressions. This type of activity on his part is /1049/
•761 most often mentioned because of its perceptible effects. He is maligned as the "murderer up there in heaven," Wĕlapatux-sĕf, for he causes the untimely death of adults and immature children. He causes everyone to die; hence the persons themselves and their nearest relatives, even the entire group, are punished and hurt.

/1049 cont./

776 He proceeds ruthlessly; he does not desist even in the face of the
761 tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother.
626 He is truly a Tumúučikánaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Abáiláakin, that hájm húlu Abáiláakin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious ill-
[753] ness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: 'Wataúinéiwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!'" (Gusinde [2]:161.)

[82] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and
776 rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by
626 sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Abáiláakin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the čičxaus: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Wataúinéiwa sees every lazy-bones. Wataúinéiwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

775 /1095 cont./ of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

reported: "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

774 Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the kĕ̆špiš leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kĕ̆špiš, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yĕ̆kamuš. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinc-
[828] tion: "While someone is dreaming, his kĕ̆špiš merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns, but if a person dies, Watauineiwa takes the kĕ̆špiš away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kĕ̆špiš," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible,
775 but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my kĕ̆špiš meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1096/ ignorant about how the kĕ̆špiš behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kĕ̆špiš, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

774 It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they
●761 admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:102 says: "New born child gets

/1096 cont./

774 761

spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watauinčiwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

774 825 Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their kěspiř. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kěspiř of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a kěspiř like that of the human soul to animals.

[171] 774 Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kăšpi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

775 Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1101 cont./

1. Death

761 The Fuegian faces all uncertainty with astonishing equanimity and quiet self-control. He is able /1102/ to await death with open eyes, without fear and alarm. Hyades (p):328 expresses himself conservatively and merely says: "They have little fear of death" /translated from French/, but this is admitting too much. Bridges (i):14 expresses himself more accurately: "They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life" /cited in English/. Certainly, everyone clings to life and loves it very much; for that reason also the threats of Watauinčiwa of an untimely death have a sure effect on the individual's conduct. As soon as he sees there is no escape, however, he submits at once without complaint. One never hears a person regretting that he must depart from this life, although he knows nothing about the new form of existence which he is entering.

165 761 [731] In earlier centuries, as in most recent times, almost all Yamana died a natural death. Fatal accidents were exceptions and murder even more so. It has been shown that epidemics have wrought havoc in the Indian population only since their closer association with Europeans. Except for children's deaths, the greater majority of Yamana succumb to old age. "Old people die because they are old!" Although in this case the Indians place more emphasis on the natural process as something they take for granted, nevertheless they do not completely forget that Watauinčiwa causes death.

763 The indications of approaching death usually appear suddenly. If a person feels his strength leaving him, he stretches out on his miserable pallet and informs those present of his condition. They immediately take it into account, and from then on the nearest relatives stay close to him in order to observe the course of events. In such a situation death usually follows within a few hours. Strangely enough they make no effort to relieve the dying person by attending him, but squat around the fire, apparently quite indifferent. The person himself does not want or demand anything, for he rapidly becomes weaker. Actually the people present are waiting for a quick end and do not watch the dying one closely because they know they cannot help him. When the

/1182 cont./

A long time passed. Every day this woman saw how good the fresh roast of the sea lion tasted to her brothers and Mikuxípa. Finally she, too, timidly reached for a little piece and tasted it. The meat tasted very good to her. Soon she helped herself to larger pieces. Gradually she grew calmer over her loss and little by little forgot her husband, the great sea lion. As time went on she ate the meat and fat of the sea lion with as much relish as her two brothers did.

V. Dying Is Introduced

It is told: The mother of the two Yoálox finally grew old and feeble; from day to day her strength failed. Weak and tired, she remained in bed; finally she was unable to move. Since she had lost all her strength, the two Yoálox carried her outside the hut and laid her in a favorable place in the grass where the warm sun could shine on her.

The elder Yoálox sat beside his mother and looked at her steadily. Although he did not take his eyes off her, she did not utter a sound. It made him unspeakably sad to see his mother lying there completely motionless, but he did not disturb her profound sleep and confidently hoped that she would soon get up again.

Since the elder Yoálox did not take his fixed gaze from his sleeping mother for a long time, but kept looking at her intently, she finally began slowly to move again. Then she opened her eyes and moved slightly, and sleep departed from her. At first she moved scarcely at all, for she seemed to be recovering only very gradually and hardly perceptibly from the utter exhaustion of her infirmity. This was enough, however, for the elder Yoálox, and he became wild with joy. Quickly he ran into the hut; he wanted to tell his younger brother and said to him: "Listen and rejoice, our mother has awakened from her deep sleep. She began to move very slowly. I confidently hope that she will soon get up again!" These words annoyed the younger Yoálox very much and he opposed his brother, instantly replying: "This must not be! Our mother is now sleeping, for she is old

/1182 cont./

TB •761 and quite feeble. Let her now sleep forever!" Whereupon this actually happened. Soon the mother hardly stirred and she did not get up again. When the elder Yoalox /1183/ again left the hut and reached the place where his mother was, he looked at her carefully. She lay there completely motionless. Again he fixed his gaze upon her for a long time, just as he had before, but this time she did not move. She lay there without stirring and without moving. Now she was truly dead.

This was the first death. Since then all human beings must die (105), for that is the way the younger Yoalox wanted it (106).

105. It is noteworthy that there are many points of agreement in this matter between the Selk'nam and our Yamana. Among the former it is the elder brother who was prevented by his younger brother from arising from his sleep of old age. This introduced dying in general (Vol. I, 388).

In Vol. I, 389, footnote 28, I pointed out that the Selk'nam like to use the expression "elder Kwanyip," instead of the real name. The Yamana have no real name for the "elder Yoalox."

106. As this story came to an end, there was much bitterness and grief written on the faces of the many people present at the thought that everyone sooner or later will die and will be unable to escape death. Without a word, they all left and silently crept back to their own huts. Every Yamana is at times very much depressed at the thought of dying.

On August 12, 1883, old Maŝemikens and his wife, both of whom came from the west, gave me a somewhat different version of this myth. He told the following story.

The two Yoalox were men of superior intelligence. When their mother had reached a great age, she finally lost all her strength. So she stayed in bed and was overcome by a very deep

/1183 cont./

773 761 sleep. After that she no longer moved. The two Yoálox wept bitterly, for they had lost their mother and were now left alone. They carried their mother out and buried her. The younger Yoálox, however, had little love for his mother; he did not weep nearly as much or as loudly as his elder brother. Their mother had been buried for some time when one day they heard her voice outside near the hut. Suddenly the elder Yoálox ceased his weeping and said: "I shall not weep any longer, for I hear the voice of my mother!" He hastened out of the hut and hoped to see his mother there. The younger Yoálox remained in the hut and furiously yelled at his mother: "How can you come back here? Go away at once and disappear from here forever!" Then the mother slowly withdrew and has never returned. The younger Yoálox simply said, as though he were displeased with himself: "Why did we not immediately (107) tell our mother that she must

107. These words mean: why did we not at the proper moment beforehand prevent our mother from rising up out of her death-sleep.

not come back!" Truly, from then on she remained away forever.

5. The Yoalox Go Away

The Yamana say: "The two Yoálox brothers gave proper names to all objects and places, all plants and animals. They remained here on earth for a long time. When they grew old, they ascended to the canopy of heaven with Yoálox-tárruxípa and their other sisters. They are still there as stars."

/1184/ This concludes the stories about the Yoálox family which is associated with the Yamana. All the men and women are, on the whole, proud of the Yoálox brothers and sisters, for they are regarded as the best and the most capable members of the tribe. The men, above all, appreciate the two Yoálox brothers as the most skillful huntsmen, the best craftsmen, the most gifted persons. These heroes are not worshipped in any way

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 [535] black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalsher-meins*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2261)

• [761] and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

715 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

713 The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or subtlety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.